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● 197
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Tupi-Guarani SL6
Bacairi SP7 ●
Arawakan Indians SR6
Cariban Indians SR7
Carib SR9
Macusi SR11
Rucuyen SR12
Cumana SS9

/For information on the terminologies and nomenclatures in the native vernacular applied by the Carib-speaking and some other northern South American tribes to various species of mammalian fauna in their habitats, see 3: Simpson, SS16 Pemon, Category 116, particularly pp. 4A-10B./

1: Steinen
102
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131
● 197
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SP7 Bacairi SP7

1	2	3
4	5	6

Chart of Positions of Map A

/Facing p. 154/

1: Steine... 13 D, E-5 (1884) 18-6 SP7 Bacair. SP7

102
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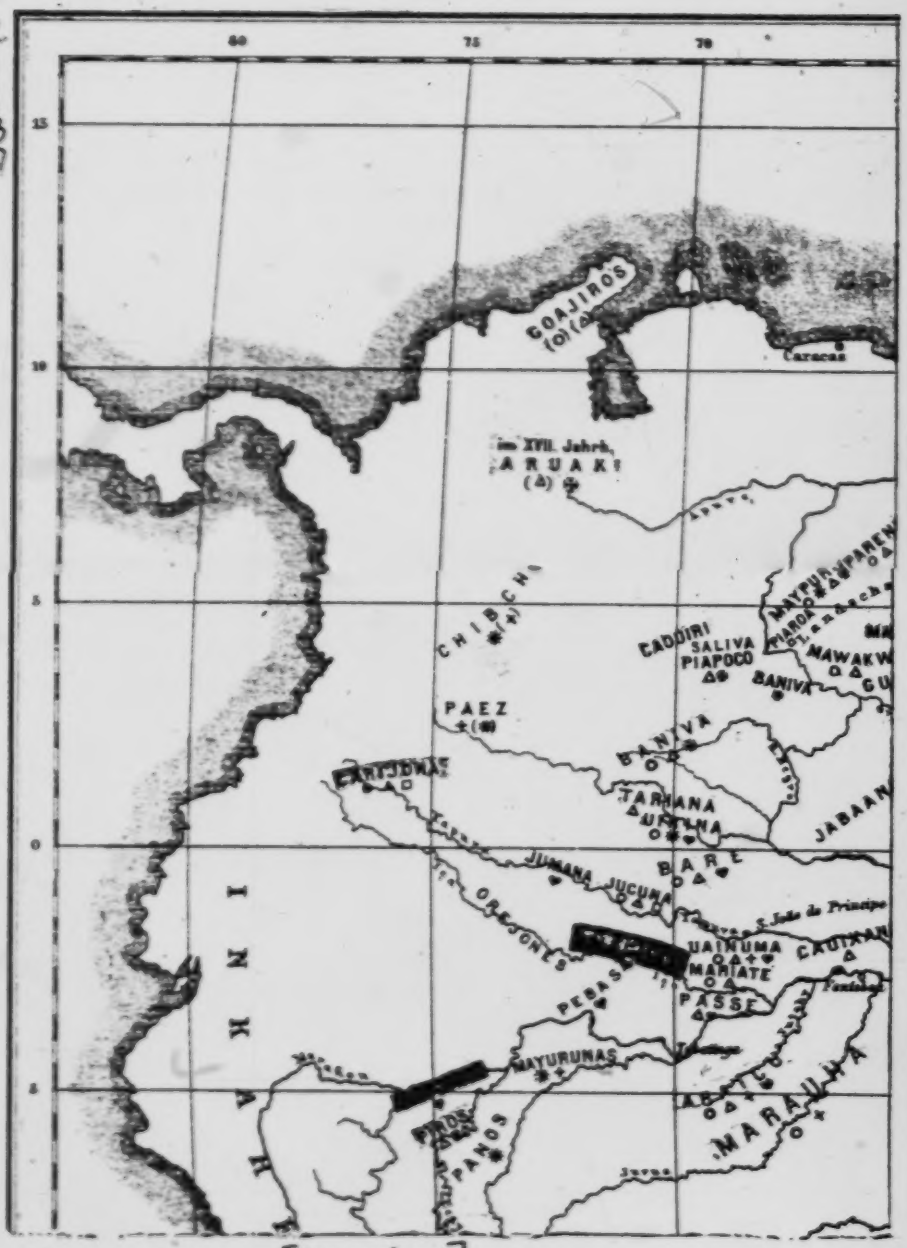

[Map A-1]

I: Steinen--155), E-S (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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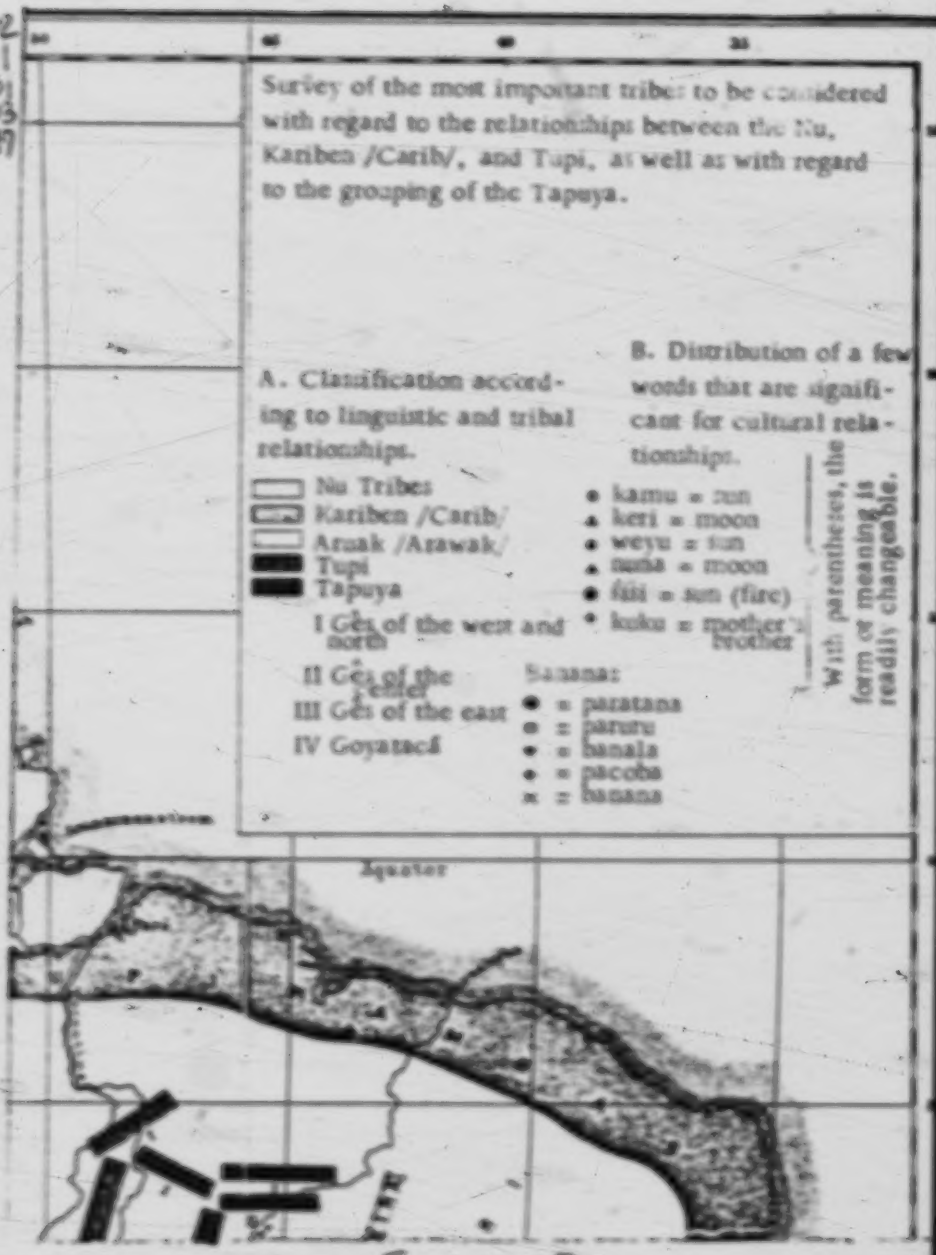
[Map A-2]

I: Steinen - 158 B,1-2 (1884) 1896 SP7 bacalh SP7


Survey of the most important tribes to be considered with regard to the relationships between the Nu, Kariben /Carib/, and Tupi, as well as with regard to the grouping of the Tapuya.
A. Classification according to linguistic and tribal relationships.
Nu Tribes
Kariben /Carib/
Aruak /Arawak/
Tupi
Tapuya
I Ges of the west and north
II Ges of the center
III Ges of the east
IV Goyatacá
B. Distribution of a few words that are significant for cultural relationships.
kamu = sun
keri = moon
weyu = sun
nuna = moon
fiii = sun (fire)
kuku = mother's brother
With parentheses, the form of meaning is readily changeable.
Bananas:
= paratana
= paruru
= banala
= pacoba
= banana
Equator

[Map A-3]

1: Steinen--157 D,E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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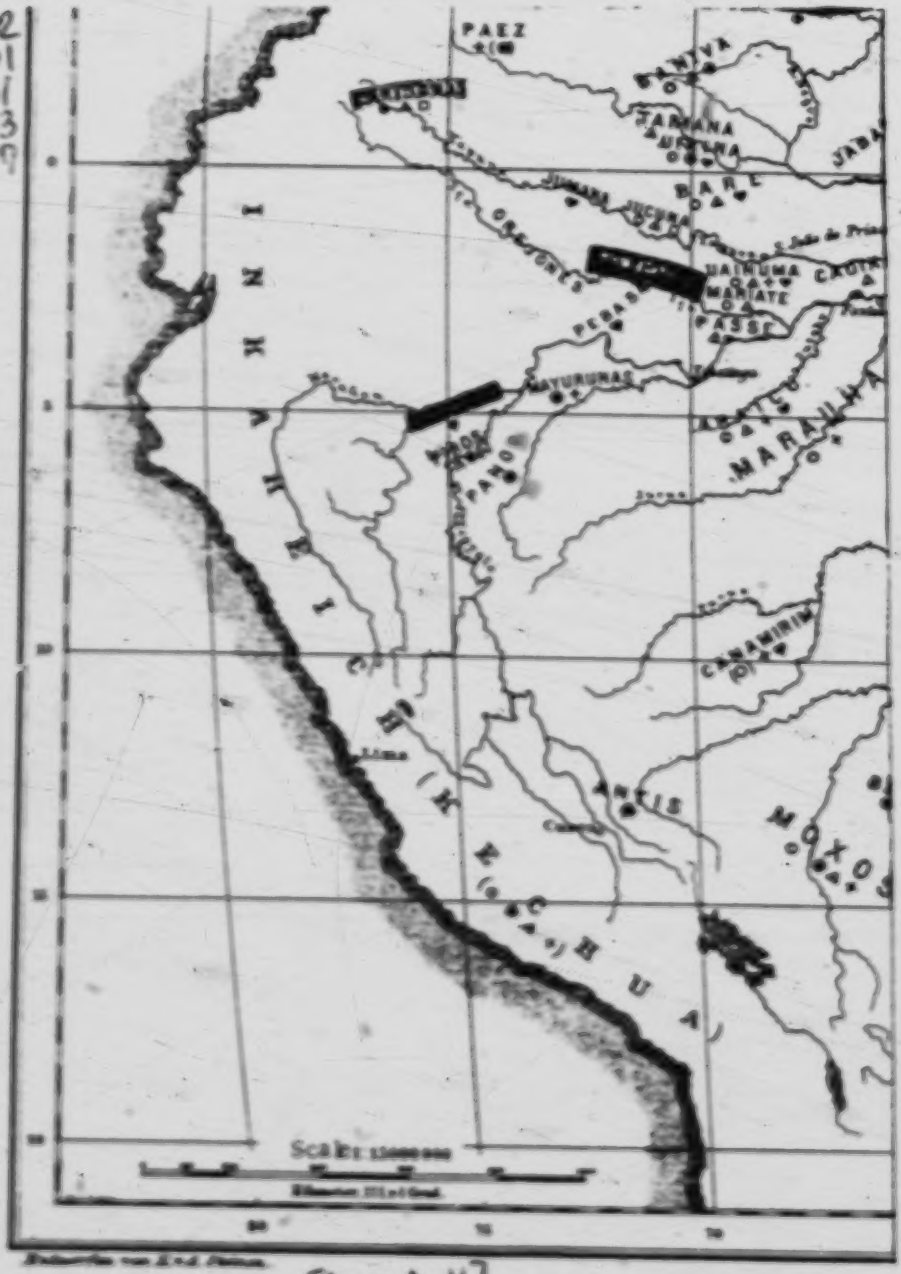

[Map A-4]

1: Steinen--158 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

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MANAOS
BONARIS
CARIAY
PARAVIHANA
MAPIDIANA
BOTAWAI
PIANOCOTO
MUCUYENNE
MUCUYENNE
MAPIDIANA
MANAOS
BONARIS
CARIAY
PARAVIH

1: Steinen--159 D, E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi SP7

102
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[Map A-6]

/155 cont./ The Suyá geographer already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the Kayaxó-Kayapó were meant.

The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there. The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá" refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the Yaurikumá, Guikurú, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a list of the most important words from the Yanumakapü and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guikurú as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The Bakaïrí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they call themselves Bakaïrí whether they live in the source region of the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakaïrí of the Kulisehu would have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Iguéti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakaïrí. We have several clear examples here of how a family community, or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

B /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi-
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
●197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
080 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Aruak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
B valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Auetö, but the core
and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

T 101 197 /156 cont./ and essence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin, just as their physical type is different from all Kulisehu tribes.

B ●197 From the Cordilleras to the Atlantic Ocean, from the La Plata to the Antilles, there are four large linguistic families: Tapuya, Tupí, Karaiben /Carib/, and Nu-Aruak /Arawak/.

B 197 101 131 /157/ The Tapuya are the east Brazilian aborigines, the forest dwellers of the coastal region and the occupants of the interior as far as a western boundary, of which the Schingú may be regarded as the main portion. They fall into two divisions, a western one, the Gēs according to Martius, and an eastern one, to which belong the primitive forest tribes of the east and the Botokuden /Botocudo/. The western outposts of the Gēs are the Kapayó and Suyá. With the latter we need not concern ourselves further, in view of the report about our second expedition, except that now there must be added the interesting fact that formerly the Suyá lived still much farther west. They were settled west of the Paranatinga, along its left tributary, the Rio Verde, in the neighborhood of the Kayabí /Cayabi/ and Bakaïrí, and from here they were not long ago driven back, one might say, to the Schingú. The entire mass of Gēs has lived east of the Schingú from time immemorial, and the nearest relatives of the Suyá, the Apinagēs /Apinaye/, live in the angle where the Araguay /Araguaia/ and Tokantins /Tocantins/ flow together.

The Tupí are dispersed over vast areas. By and large their northern boundary lies along the northern tributaries of the Amazon; they occupied the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to that of the La Plata; the Guaraní of Paraguay merely speak a dialect of Tupí. We encounter Tupí on the upper course of the Schingú, of the Tapajoz, of the Madeira, even of the Maranhão. Their language was elevated by the Jesuits to be the language for communication, the "lingoa geral." A great practical benefit, but unfortunate for the science of language. The interest in Tupí has caused scholarship in Brazil to treat all other languages in a most stepmotherly fashion, countless volumes from ancient and modern times are devoted to it, there is nothing more than meager vocabularies from any of the Tapuya tribes, either the Botokuden or a Gēs tribe, the linguistic study of which would be one of the

/157 cont./

197 10 131 world's most important, on account of the low cultural level, and which in reality formed the nucleus of the original population of eastern Brazil. The Brazilian scholar sees practically everything that has been thought about the natives as sub specie of the Tupí. He is happy to put Tupí in the closest relationship with the Aryans and derives from Tupí the other languages of his native land; these natives, however, are so widely distributed already that it is quite superfluous to put them in addition where they themselves have not yet been. On the Kulisehu, the Auetö and the Kamayurá, the latter in greater agreement with the lingoa geral, belong with them.

The Karaiben /Carib/ have been known north of the Amazon River since the times of the discoverers. On the Kulisehu we were the Karaiben; and thus probably originally, too, the first Karaiben were the first strangers who incorrectly understood the tribal name and made it the word that was used to refer to them themselves, as has happened in numerous other cases and is indeed often difficult to avoid during the noisy reception in an unknown language. The name, of course, is derived from the ancestral Tupí /Tupímanen/, not out of the Tupí spoken either in the Lesser Antilles or on the north coast of the continent. The Bakaïrí /158/ called us "Karáiba" with definite emphasis on the "a"; the word may be explained as "not like us" in their language, whereas the opposite, "like us," is called Karále. Let us ignore the very dubious etymology, however; it is enough for us that the word is Karaiben in our sense, was taken over by the Tupí of the Kulisehu in the already abbreviated form "karái" -- not in the form "karyb" of the lingoa geral! -- and, according to everything, must for us be "Karaibe" and not, as people are now largely in the habit of writing it, "Karibe." On the upper Schingú the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá are Karaiben. Their language is radically different from Tupí, and the favorite hypothesis of several excellent researchers, namely, that the Tupí and Karaiben are related, has been conclusively eliminated by the two Schingú expeditions; the root words of the two languages show no correspondence.

B
/158 cont./

197 The Nu-Aruak fall into the subdivisions of the Nu tribes
101 and the Aruak. "Nu-" is the characteristic fossil of these tribes,
131 the pronominal prefix of the first person, highly characteristic for most of them, which we come across from Bolivia and the Mato Grosso to the Lesser Antilles. In the Guianas we see the Nu-Aruak in intimate contact with the Karaiben; on the Lesser Antilles, where the Aruak were attacked and oppressed by the Karaiben, a true amalgamation would in all probability have come about without the arrival of the Europeans, bringing destruction. Father Raymond Breton in 1665 left us a dictionary of the Island Karaiben, whose Indian-French part, unfortunately only this, has become generally available in a facsimile edition, thanks to Julius Platzmann (Leipzig, 1892), and strove earnestly to separate the words of the Karaiben men and the Aruak women, where they differed, but proved by his compilation that two languages were no longer spoken independently of each other, as was mentioned above, but that the Karaiben men had allowed the substance and form of their old "mother tongue" to be tremendously changed by the new "language of their mothers."

B
[171] On the distant Kulisehu we met the exact mirror image of the conditions in the Guianas. The Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá, and Yaulapiti are Nu-Aruak; their influence was clearly asserted in language and culture traits among the Nahuquá who had taken several Mehinakú women.

B
T
101 Therefore, according to linguistic investigation, the tribes
171 of the Schingú source region are to be classified as follows (the number of villages in parentheses):
197
361 Karaiben: Bakaïrí (8), Nahuquá (9);
Nu-Aruak: Mehinakú (3), Waurá (1), Kustenaú (1), Yaulapiti (2);
Tupí: Kamayurá (4), Auetö (1);
Isolated: Trumaí (2).

B
101 /159/ Just as the Nahuquá embrace nine different "tribes,"
171 which correspond merely to nine different independent villages,
197 we could likewise put the Mehinakú, Waurá, and Kustenaú together as one tribe. These three tribes speak exactly the same idiom. They also, as we shall see, form an ethnological unit,

B 101 171 197 /159 cont./ and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B T 101 197 Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaï.

II. Anthropological.

B T 126 128 141 In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here; some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

B T 128 141 material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakaïrí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaï are missing altogether.

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
● 197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
[123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professór" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
431 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

/398 cont./

B 174 Karaiben, not as a separate folk, but as people with a peculiar way of life, as brigands, pirates, and slayers of men."

I have already mentioned, page 133, that the kinship of Tupí and Karaiben runs up against the irremovable obstacle of the diversity of languages, which is clearly marked even in the root-words. There is no bridge here. Though the study of the B [197] Bakaïrí language and a comparison of it with the North Karaiben Indians furnished this positive result, on the other hand the southern hypothesis has nevertheless been saved by the now substantiated presence of a Karaiben population in the interior of the continent, and Lucien Adam, who in more recent times had spoken in favor of a homeland south of the Amazonas, on the basis of his careful investigation of Karaiben idioms, may thus enjoy the best confirmation.

Y 181 Meanwhile a Karaiben tribe south of the Amazonas was found even before us. It, the "Palmellas," is reported in a Y [131] travel account, scarcely known in Europe, by the Brazilian physician, João Severiano da Fonseca,* who became acquainted

Y [113]

* Viagem ao redor do Brasil 1875-1878 /Journey around Brazil, 1875-1878/, Rio de Janeiro, 1880. Vol. II, 190 ff.

with them in 1877 with the detachment of Pedras Negras (12° 15' 11", 22 south latitude and 19° 44' 22", 65 west of Rio de Y [177] Janeiro) on the Guaporé and recorded a small vocabulary. Some seven or eight leagues away in the last spurs of the Paressí "Cordillere" lived this "tribe of docile Indians who appeared only a few years ago and established communication with the Y 197 members of the detachment and the river-travelers. They speak an idiom different from that of the Guaporé tribes, mixed with Portuguese and Spanish words, and they cannot give their place of origin or descent. It is noteworthy, however, that a large number of their words are identical or similar to the Galibí dialect." Severiano learned from three Palmellas who were in

B /399 cont./
174 number of our Karaiben elements is too small to account for the one going from the center of the continent to the north, is removed.

B As far as the relation of the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá to each
174 other is concerned, it should be noted that the two tribes are
197 linguistically no closer than the Guiana Karaiben are to one another. In fact, the Bakaïrí are closer to the Makuschí /Macusi/ or Rukuyenn /Rucuyen/ than to the Nahuquá, The influence of the neighboring Nu-Aruak, the potter tribes of the Kulisehu, on the language of the Nahuquá is clearly pronounced, and this relation, as is the case today, has undoubtedly been closer and more cordial for a very long time than with the
B [173] Bakaïrí. This circumstance is in perfect accord with the history and legend of the West Bakaïrí when they maintain that the original seat of their tribe lies between the Ronuro and the Paranatinga.

B The latest acquisition for the Karaiben question, finally,
A and a very important one on account of the spatial adjustment
174 which it permits, is the Apiaká /Apiaca/. Martius already
A speaks of "Apiaká" in the river basin of the Tokantins /Tocantins/;
[101] he mentions them beside the Karajá /Caraja/ and regards them
[131] as Tupí, as indeed the Indians of the upper Tapajoz living in a remote region and likewise called "Apiaká" actually are. In 1888, Ehrenreich, after he had traveled down the Araguay-Tokantins,
A met a few Apiaká in Praia Grande and /400/ identified them as
B [142] Karaiben. He was surprised at their great physical resemblance to the Bakaïrí. The people said that they had been driven away by
A [173] the Suyá. They had fled northward and are now living west of
[167] the last stretch of the lower Tokantins, probably in the upper
[131] region of the Uanapu and Pacayá, approximately on the third degree south latitude. Ehrenreich suspects that the migration took place only a few decades ago. It is obvious to link them up with the change of habitation which the Suyá themselves undertook when, in the first decades of this century (cf. page 474), they were driven from the Paranatinga region to the Schingú. Nor do
A [167] we know anything more specific about whether the Apiaká lived to the west or east of the Schingú, but the important fact that

/400 cont./
there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is ï-, which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

Tooth ieri, Bak. vëri, Karaiben in general;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ïlu (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
Foot ipun, Bak. iχúlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewéti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinári (third person);
Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
Bone itpun, Bak. ipüri;
Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschíschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kχáu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kχópö;
Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yéi;
Father ongmä, Bak. iyúme;

/401/·
Mother iämä, Bak. íse;

114 /219 cont./
101 and by the Indians to all kinds of Europeans. Since the time of D'Orbigny and Martius there has been a tendency to identify /220/ them with the Tupis. Baptista Caetano, inclined to-
• [197] ward the same view, stressed as the principal basis for it the impure character of the idiom spoken by the Caribas, denying Hervas' contention that it was one of the four principal ones of South America.

114 "In my opinion," he wrote, "Kariba is not and could not
197 be a mother language. According to a study which I undertook (and which I regrettably could not carry further), it looks to me like an extraordinary mixture of several dialects of diverse origins; it is a veritable jargon, amalgamated from various dialects, which sometimes offers several phrases with different radicals and words in order to express the same thing, and sometimes a total lack of designations for other things. It is so confused that it can only be compared to what is heard in certain circles in Rio de Janeiro, where during a conversation in Portuguese one hears at the same time a phrase in English, another in Italian, a bit of Spanish or German, and all this more or less basted with Gallicisms." (Introduction to the second edition of Arte de grammatica da lingua... Kiriri /Nature of the grammar of the language... Kiriri (Cariri)/, by Luiz Vicenzio Mamiani, Rio, 1877, p. XII.)

197 This, which is accurate with regard to the Island Caribas, whom we know through Breton's works (2), does not apply,

[113] 2. Cf. Du parler des hommes et du parler des femmes dans la langue caraïbe /On men's speech and women's speech in the Carib language/, by Lucien Adam, Paris, 1879.

/220 cont./

197 however, to the language of the Bacaeris, which seems pure, nor, for example, to the Cumanagotas /Cumanagoto/ and Chaymas /Chaima/ of Venezuela and Colombia, belonging to the same group, for which there have been printed grammars and texts since 1683.

114 /221/ The second result was the finding of Cariba tribes
101 south of the Amazon, when those that were known had been found only north of the great river, such as the Crixanás /Crichana/, Macuxis /Macusi/, and others. Directly afterward, it was proved that these were not the only ones: between the S. Francisco and Parnahiba /Parnaíba/ rivers, Martius recorded a short glossary of the language of the Pimenteiras, who proved to be Caribas; the Palmelas /Palmella/, too, with whom Dr. Severiano da Fonseca dealt on the Guaporé, were Caribas; more Caribas were found later by Dr. von den Steinen himself on one of the tributaries of the Xingú, the Culisewi, and by Dr. Paulo Ehrenreich on the lower Tocantins, where they are called Apiacás.

114 A more detailed knowledge of the purely Cariba languages
194 and the existence of tribes that spoke them south of the
197 Amazon raised the question: might it not have been from south of the Amazon toward the Caribbean Sea that the migrations of these tribes took place--rather than the opposite, as was accepted until then? Almost simultaneously this was answered in the affirmative by Dr. Carlos von den Steinen and by Sr. Lucien Adam, who from 1882 on published various glossaries by Crevaux, among which were some Cariba ones.

114 In order to study the subject better, Dr. Carlos von den Steinen went a second time, in 1888 and, again assisted by our government, explored the Pakunera and Culisewi rivers down to their mouths in the Culuéne, the easternmost of the headwaters of the Xingú.

/222/ Two books resulted from this journey: a monograph on the language of the Bacaeris (3), published in 1892; and the

/223 cont./

121 114 with slight variations, it is nevertheless more than a mere summary, for at several points our opinions differ, while at others heretofore unknown facts appear for the first time. This concerning the linguistic part, the subject of this first chapter. The divergence is even greater in the points that follow, which are based exclusively on what Irineu related.

/224/

I

The Language of the Bacaeris

• 197

[133] [103] The language of the Bacaeris (kxura itano, tohi itano, that is, language of people, exactly like abá ñeẽ, the language of the Tupis) is spoken on the Rio Novo (Yemeriri), a tributary of the Arinos; on the Paranatinga (Pakunéra), a tributary of the Tapajoz; on the Tamitatoala, one of the headwaters of the Xingú, called Batovi by the Germans in honor of the baron of the same name, president of Mato Grosso in 1884, the time of the first expedition; on the Culisewi, a tributary of the Culuene, also a headwater (the easternmost one) of the Xingú. On the Oronuro, the westernmost headwater, there are no Indians who speak this language. From an examination of the vocabularies and the grammatical forms, it was proved that the Bacaeris belong to the Carahiba or Cariba group.

194 Of the letters of our alphabet, F is found in only one word, possibly onomatopoeic, which precedes incantations: aúfá, perhaps an imitation of the blowing out of smoke. V is rare, and in any case it is not pronounced as it generally is in Rio de Janeiro, but rather seems to be bilabial. R is always soft, that is, to use the description by Gonçalves Vianna, "the air is expelled at one time, without interruption, as in caro /'dear' in Port./, and not intermittently, in successive contacts, more or less repeated, /225/ resulting from the vibration imparted by the active organ, as in carro /'cart' in Port./." G is slightly velar, and to differentiate it from ours

/260 cont./
114 informant. (3) Karl von den Steinen, on the other hand,

[113] 3. Capistrano de Abreu, "Os Bacaerys /The Bacairi/," Revista Brasileira, Year I, Volumes 3 and 4, Rio de Janeiro, 1895.

worked with several informants, and, what is more important in our opinion, personally visited Bakairí aldeas, (4) which

[113] 4. Karl von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886; Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Central Brazilian Primitive Peoples/, Berlin, 1894.

[127] Capistrano did not do. These documents, studied comparatively, permit us /261/ to support the conclusions we expect to reach on Bakairí beliefs and customs.

197 The Bakairí belong to the Karaib /Carib/ linguistic
361 family. Their old aldeas consisted of large communal houses,
[342] ellipsoidal in form, around a square. In each house there
[592] lived from two to five families. In the center of the aldea
[344] there was a house, kadoeti, where the ceremonial adornments of the men were kept and where visitors were lodged. Access to the kadoeti was open not only to the men but to women
[346] and children as well. Attached to the kadoeti was a small
[534] house, its entrance turned to the rising sun, where the flutes,
[784] buzzers or bull-roarer, and other sacred objects were kept. Access to this latter house was forbidden to women and children.

&Oberg E-5 (1947)1963 SPI Bacairi Sp 9

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000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

● [192] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martius places them in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopes led an expedition in search for gold into the area and with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30' and 12°30' S.

175 182 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

SP8 Bororo
Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nauka SP8
Trumai SP23

pleased. The women were as outspoken as the men, but it was noticed that the younger women kept behind the older, peering over their shoulders, a custom that was observed among the Bororo and the Bakairi also.

Propelled by the outboard motor we covered a great distance, until late in the afternoon three canoes were capsized by one of the men who lost his head. This occurred in one of the deepest pools in the river, and all our efforts to recover the canoes failed. Making an inventory of our resources we found that all of our dried meat was lost, most of the sugar, a good portion of the salt, beans, rice, and farina. For this last we were not concerned, for we could buy it from the Indians. More serious was the loss of most of the ammunition, some rifles, revolvers, knives, over half of our trade goods, including most of the hardware, the cameras, anthropometric instruments, Schick and Dick Test material, blood grouping sera, and all of my notes and specimens. We had lost enough beans and rice to last us some four weeks with care, and a sufficient quantity of coffee. I decided to go on anyway, but as a matter of fact we were not able to move in any direction, since the few small canoes would not carry all of the personnel.

On the second day after this event a Mehinaku appeared in a canoe with his wife and two children. Understanding our plight, he paddled to his people further down stream and the next day returned with men and canoes, having traveled day and night to reach us quickly. In the meantime the plane had flown by on its way to the meeting place, without having seen our smoke signals.

Paddling all day and a good portion of the night, we arrived at the Mehinaku port of a village on the right bank, in the process of being built. Farina and biiju were given us and we found the people delighted and charming hosts. Putting up our hammocks under the trees, some of us retired, but the Bakairi, though tired, sat up most of the night conversing with the Mehinaku, though each other's language was mutually unintelligible.

On the opposite bank to the port of the Mehinaku, we found a group of about twenty-five Trumai men and women. They had no canoes, but the Mehinaku ferried them across. They were exceptionally small, being both short and thin, in contrast with other peoples that were met, but always appeared to be well nourished. In the morning, when we

3:Petrullo E-5 (1931)1932

Arecto SP6
SP8 Bororo
Yaruma SP25
Nimuaa SP8
Tauna: SP23
Bacairi: SP7
Y
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that of the Naruvute on the Kuluene, where the rapids end. Thus habitation of the banks of these two rivers begins where the rapids end, and the rivers become deep and, in the case of the Kuluene, broad. This seems the line likewise of the end of the open lands of the chapadão and the beginning of the forest belt that stretches northward to the Amazon. Thus the region occupied by the aborigines having permanent settlements is that which borders on deeper waters well stocked with large fish, where manualism life is poorer, but hard life richer and the soil is better.

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According to Von den Steinen, the Mehinaku, Aura and Yawalapiti speak Arawak; the Auiti and Kamayura are Tupi, and the Bakairi and the Analuka are Carib. The Trumai speak an isolated language. Keeping this classification, we must include in the Carib stock Naruvute, Kuikuti (Cuicura)-and Tonva, if the fact that these groups could converse freely with the Analuka and that my Bakairi, who knew a little Analuka, is an indication that they have a common language.

Thus, three of the four linguistic stocks of South America that have the widest geographic distribution are well represented on these headwaters of the Xingu. The fourth, the Tapuya,[1] is spoken by tribes in the surrounding region, most of whom are scarcely known by name. It is generally held that the Tapuya are the oldest inhabitants of eastern Brazil and that they were dislodged by the Tupi. In this region, it seems that the Tupi, Carib and Arawak are holding the more desirable locations near the rivers, and that all of them have as their common enemies tribes speaking some form of Tapuya, who are kept away from the deep waters and the fish. The most numerous are the Caribs, with five villages; the Tupi have two, and the Arawak have three. However, it must not be implied that because the villages speak languages which belong to the same stock that they are united politically. Each is a separate political community and apparently language affiliation plays little part in political or social alliances.

Since Von den Steinen's visit, the tribes have shifted their habitat somewhat. Changes of village site is often caused by the necessity of fresh manioc fields, death or warfare. The Analuka, for instance, gave the information that their former home was to the east of the Kuluene, but that following a disastrous attack by the Jaruma they

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[1] [Tapuya means "enemy" in Tup. Perhaps this fourth stock is Ge.—Analyst]

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6 Oberg E-9 (1949) 1953 SP17 Namibwara

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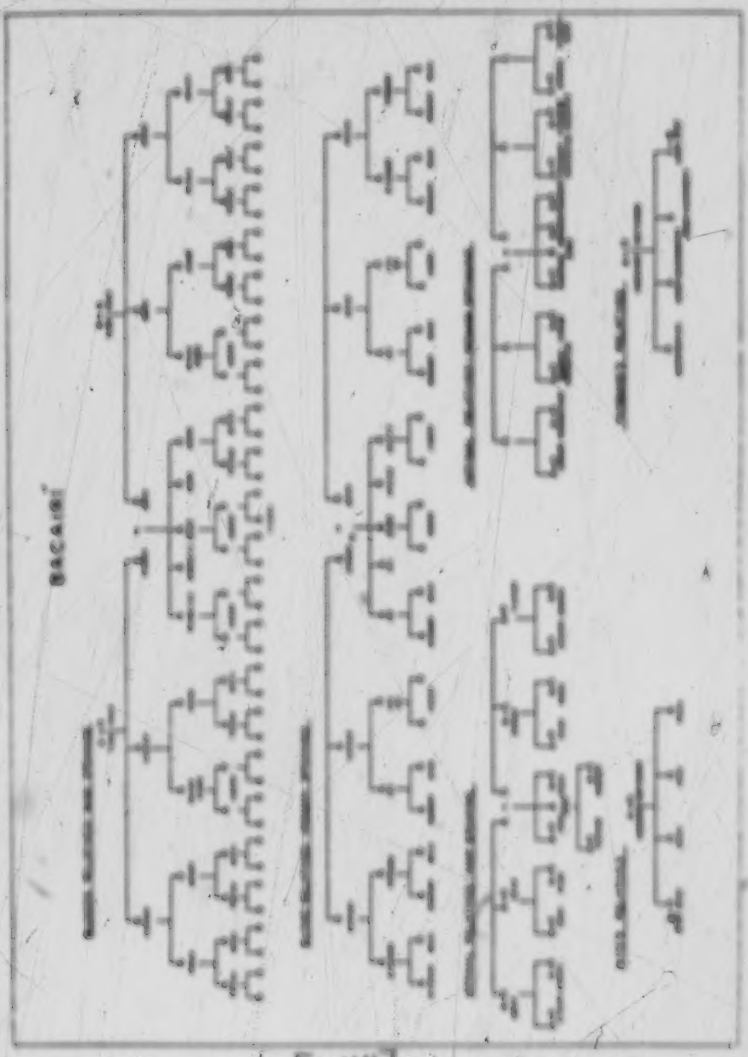

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